THE CARIBBEAN EDUCATIONAL POLICY SPACE: EDUCATIONAL GRADUALISM, ZERO-SUM POLICY REFORMS, AND LESSON-DRAWING IN SMALL (AND MICRO) STATES.

EL ESPACIO DEL CARIBE PARA LA EDUCACIÓN POLÍTICA: GRADUALISMO EDUCATIVO, REFORMAS POLÍTICAS DE SUMA CERO Y 'LESSON-DRAWING' EN PEQUEÑOS (Y MICRO) ESTADOS.

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ABSTRACT

This paper analyses national educational policy discourse in ten of the now 15 Caribbean Community (CARICOM) countries and advances that the failed socialist experiments in the small (and micro states) of Guyana, Grenada, and Jamaica during the 1980s ultimately lead to the creation of the Caribbean Educational Policy Space (CEPS). CEPS is intended to engender the movement of service, goods, labor, capital, and the right to establishment – i.e. CARICOM citizens may establish companies and business enterprises in any CARICOM nation and be treated as a local national. This discursively created space employed the external delivery mechanism of 'lesson-drawing' through a gradualist approach to educational reforms at the both regional level and national level or what I call educational gradualism–a zero-sum policy reform maneuver that facilitates the creation of predefined educational outcomes. A summative content analysis shows that CEPS, an unintentional byproduct of educational gradualism, was discursively framed historically by the era of ideological pluralism, legally by the 2001 Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas, substantively by the enactment of the Caribbean Single Market in 2006, and functionally through functional cooperation.

Key words: *post-socialism; educational gradualism; CARICOM; Caribbean Educational Policy Space*

RESUMEN

Este trabajo analiza el discurso nacional la política educativa de cada diez de los países ahora 15 Comunidad del Caribe (CARICOM) y avanza que los experimentos socialistas fallidos en los pequeños (y micro estados) de Guyana, Granada y Jamaica durante la década de 1980 en última instancia conducir a la creación de Espacio del Caribe para la Educación Política (CEPS). CEPS está destinado a generar el movimiento de servicio, los bienes, el trabajo, el capital y el derecho de establecimiento - es decir, los ciudadanos de la CARICOM pueden establecer empresas y empresas comerciales en cualquier nación CARICOM y ser tratado como un ciudadano local. Este espacio discursivamente creado emplea el mecanismo de entrega externa de 'lección de dibujo' a través de un enfoque gradual para las reformas educativas en el tanto a nivel regional como a nivel nacional o lo que yo llamo el gradualismo, una reforma de la política educativa maniobra de suma cero que facilita la creación de predefinido los resultados educativos. Un análisis de contenido sumativo muestra que CEPS, un subproducto no intencional de gradualismo educativa, se discursivamente enmarcado históricamente por la era del pluralismo ideológico, legalmente por el 2001 Tratado Revisado de Chaguaramas,

sustantivamente por la promulgación del mercado único del Caribe en 2006, y funcionalmente a través cooperación funcional.

Palabras clave: *post- socialismo; gradualismo educativa; CARICOM; Espacio Política Educativa del Caribe*

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1. INTRODUCTION.

Dale, R. 1999, (p.8) asserts that as globalization progresses and continues to affect national policy, countries will respond with idiosyncratic 'delivery mechanisms' of policy transfer that are either orthodox (policy learning and policy borrowing) or part of the 'globalization effect' (harmonization, dissemination, standardization, installing interdependence, and imposition). The key point of Dale's (1999, p.15) argument, that this article advances, is that external influences (both the regional and international) have dimensions of variability that give rise to the 'scope of the mechanisms (whether they included policy goals as well as policy processes), the locus of viability, the mode of power employed through the mechanism, the initiating source of the policy change and the nature of the parties to the exchange.' While Dale's (1999) work concentrates on how external influences from the international level affect the national level, the focus of this paper is: How does external influence at the regional level affect the national level? This question is very applicable to the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), made up of fifteen member states[1] and five associate member states,[2] since they are very susceptible to global external influences, given their small size, economies of scale, fragility, and vulnerability. Both the political project of regionalism and the politics of education within the CARICOM are driven by cooperation and coordination of transactional costs.

This paper expands upon Dale's (2009, p.32) typology that suggests that the European Policy Space (EES) is framed *formally* by the Treaty's responsibilities, *substantively* by the Lisbon Agenda, and the European Social Model, and *historically* by the pre-Lisbon education activities of the European Commission. Based on a summative content analysis, this paper argues that the 'Caribbean Educational Policy Space (CEPS)' (Jules, 2013), that was an unintentional byproduct of educational gradualism, is discursively framed *historically* by the era of ideological pluralism, *legally* by the 2001 Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas, *substantively* by the enactment of the Caribbean Single Market in 2006, and *functionally* through functional cooperation – a non-economic process. This paper finds that the delivery mechanism of external policy influence is most notable at the regional level, particularly during transitory reform periods, such as post-socialism. Furthermore, this paper proposes that 'lesson-drawing' (Rose, 1991; 1993) is a delivery 'policy tool' (Jules, 2008) or 'policy mechanism' (Dale, 1999), derived of external influences, which led to the framing of CEPS.

I employ Markowitz's (1973) conceptualization of 'educational gradualism' within Belgium colonies. Markowitz (1973) suggests that Belgium's formal colonial educational policy were neither "assimilative," as the case of French colonialism nor "adaptive" as used by the British. Instead, he argues that Belgium's formal educational policy was based on the "gradual development of the autochthons in view of the local 'needs,' but these needs were stipulated within the colonial framework of the Belgians" (as cited in Depaepe, 2009, p.701). This paper suggests that the demise of the socialist experiments in Guyana, Grenada, and Jamaica, cemented the way for educational reform based *educational gradualism* – an incrementalist approach to national reform, grounded in calculated strategies and deliberate agenda-setting patterns that focused on the ongoing incorporation of regional mandates, to deepen the integrative project into national educational policies. Educational gradualism

[1] CARICOM's full members are: Antigua and Barbuda, The Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Montserrat, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname, and Trinidad and Tobago.

[2] CARICOM's associate members are: Anguilla, Bermuda, the British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands and the Turks and Caicos Islands.

became a zero-sum policy reform maneuver that focused not on returning to days besieged by ideological pluralism, but instead by ensuring that all of CARICOM's member states enacted, agreed, and implemented (where compatible with national laws) the same regional benchmarks and targets. Educational gradualism began at the regional level with the creation of the Advisory Task Force on Education (ATF) in 1989 and crystallized in the Future of Education in the Region (CARICOM, 1993) that suggested targeted educational actions that were needed across all national levels of educational systems in the then 13 of 15 CARICOM countries.

The next section briefly discusses the existing literature on post-socialist transformations, particularly about the small and microstates of the Caribbean. Next, the methodology undertaken is detailed. The second half of the paper shows how educational gradualism is aided by the policy tool of lesson-drawing, which is anchored in the historically, legal, substantive, and functional aspects of the political project of regionalism. It is advanced that educational gradualism began with the use of intra-state lesson-drawing to create regional policy solutions to national problems. I conclude by arguing that this gradualist approach to educational reform, in the post-socialist period in the Caribbean, occurred through the drawing of policy lessons across CARICOM member state, so as to avoid a renewed pivot by CARICOM countries towards ideological pluralism.

2. POST-SOCIALIST TRANSFIGURATION IN CARIBBEAN SMALL STATES

With the movement from government to governance, small (and micro states) are using various forms of regionalism (political project) to facilitate cooperation and coordination of regionalization (the empirical process of economic flows within a geographic space). CARICOM states have been historically categorized as small (and micro) states, defined by "three interrelated institutions – colonialism, the sugar plantation and slavery, [however it was institution of] the sugar plantation [which] was installed as the mode of production at different time periods in the various islands and mainland enclaves" (Clarke, 1991, p.4). In 1989 its members began to respond to globalization with a call for deepening integration with the Grand Anse Declaration (CARICOM, 1989) by creating the necessary institutions to facilitate the pillars of regionalization as identified in the Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas (economic integration, foreign policy coordination, functional cooperation, and security [added in 2007]). Thus, CARICOM's movement from the coordination of regional trading agreements (RTAs) during the 1970s towards the coordination of activities at all levels makes it an exemplar of an active 'trans-regional regime' (Jules, 2008; 2012; 2013). A trans-regional regime, such as CARICOM, facilitates the exchange of policy ideas and acts as a multi-level governance institution by addressing issues that have come from the inability of national governments to control global, regional, and transnational policy processes. CARICOM states are more vulnerable to external shocks given their history and societal structures – plural-stratified, plural-segmented, class-stratified, and folk; where "plural-stratified, class-stratified and folk societies are essentially bi-racial (black-white) while plural-segmented societies are multi-racial and include a third racial category" (Clarke, 1991, p.7; see also Smith, 1984).

Using the regional level as the unit of analysis, within the emerging and frontier markets of the Caribbean, scholars note that international donors set the development pace and that policy paralysis exists at the national level since several policy intentions are never enacted due to a locus of reasons. Since donor aid drives so much of CARICOM's priorities, it has been argued that CARICOM is the

playground of 'uncritical international transfer', given its lack of institutional capacity and aid dependence (Crossley, 1984; 1999; Crosley, Bray, Packer, & Sprague, 2011; Holmes & Crossley, 2004; Lam, 2010; Louisy, 200l). Uncritical international transfer of best practices from elsewhere has been a defining feature of CARICOM members dating back to its colonial heritage of plantation economies. Extensive studies have examined specific characteristics that impede the development of small states by focusing attention on South-South migration (Bartlett, L. 2012), the politics of education in small states (Grant, 1993), the effect of indigenous knowledge and values upon the policy process (Holmes, & Crossley, 2004), research capacity (Crossley, 2008), financial and human capital limitations (Jules, 1994), the role of aid on local decisions (D. Jules, 2006; T. D. Jules, 2010), adult education (Jules, 2006), funding of higher education (Baldacchino & Farrugia, 2002; Nkrumah-Young, Huisman, & Powell 2008), and the small scale syndrome (Baldacchino,1997). Some research exists on the role of structural dependency in engendering the socialist experiments in the Caribbean (Payne, 1984; Rose, 1993; Rose, 2002) and the use of policy tools to produce 'policy learning' in the aftermath of socialist experiments (Jules, 2010), however, few works have looked at the intersections and trajectories of both 'local' and 'global' revolutions in the Caribbean, such as in the case of Cuba (Sobe & Timberlake, 2010). Recently, research has suggested that in revisiting the role of scale (Brock & Crossley, 2013) and raison d'être of small state research (Jules, 2012) '…may contribute to directions for innovative research on education policy transfer in this arena' (Brock & Crossley, 2013, p.1), this paper discusses how the policy tool of lesson-drawing engendered national reforms based on regional solutions.

3. RE(READING) DISCURSIVE PATTERNS: SAMPLE AND METHODS.

Policies are vital expressions of social power that symbolize the principles of authoritative actors and institutions whose knowledge about the social world reverberates in these texts (Ball, 1990; Wodak, 2005). Policy texts contain traces of diverse discourses and ideologies that compete for power, and should be viewed as sites of resistance. From the Foucauldian perspective of discourse, policy texts "[are] about who can speak, when, where and with what authority" (Ball, 1990, p.17). A content analysis was used to "disclose international differences in communication content; describe trends in communication; and reveal the focus of individual, group, institutional, or societal attention" (Weber, 1990, p.9). It focuses on "attain[ing] a condensed and broad description of the phenomenon and the outcome of the analysis is concepts or categories describing the phenomenon" (Elo & Kyngäs 2008, p.108) so that one can identify the critical processes (Lederman, 1991) that define meanings, intentions, consequences, and context. A summative content analysis probed both manifested and latent content.

Returning to the research question: How does external influence at the regional level affect the national level? The paper's central questions ask if CARICOM members are more likely to be attracted to regional or international practices or what is called 'cross-national attraction' (Phillips & Ochs, 2004). In other words, as CARICOM member states reformed their educational systems at the beginning of the 1990s, were they paying more attention to regional or international benchmarks and targets? To understand what type of cross-national attraction occurred, different themes from the World Declaration on Education for All, hereinafter the international framework (UNESCO, 1990), and at the regional level, the Future of Education in the Caribbean (CARICOM, 1993) were selected as the benchmark documents.

First, a thematic approach (Weber, 1990) to manifest content analysis was employed by reading and extracting the exact headings from the regional policy and the international framework. The regional policy produced 98 themes under five broad categories (levels of education; curriculum reform; teacher education; management and administration of schools; and financing of education) and the international framework contained 38 themes under five broad categories (assessing needs and planning action; developing a supportive policy environment; designing policies to improve basic education; financing of management, improving managerial, analytical and technological capacities; and building partnerships and mobilizing resources). There was no overlap between regional and international themes. Coding sheets were designed based on these themes (see Burnard, 1996; Cole, 1988; Jules, 2012; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

Second, all available national educational policies from periods 1990-1996 and 1996-2002 were collected. Ten policies (the Bahamas, Barbados, Dominica, Guyana, Grenada, Jamaica, Montserrat, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, and Trinidad and Tobago) from the 1990-1996 period and three policies (Guyana, Montserrat, and Jamaica) from the 1996-2002 period were analyzed. The policy periods were distinguished conceptually based on how national governments identified these periods. This policy cycle was chosen as a benchmark because any post-socialist discursive traces at the national level stemming from regional reforms would have manifested during both periods depending on the political situation in each country. During data collection, each Ministry of Education was asked to confirm that their respective educational policies during the 1990-1996 period were rolled over for the 1996-2002 policy period.

Third, policies were analyzed to locate manifested content based on either regional targets or international benchmarks. The analysis located the existence, occurrence, and congruence of a specific category of a theme when: (i) comparing national policies with the regional policy and (ii) comparing national policies with the international framework. This was essentially a frequency count – the quantity of explicit references found in the data. Thematic categories were created based on a qualitative reading of the regional policy and the international framework. Once a theme from the regional policy or the international framework was found in national documents, a qualifying marker of '1' for its existence (or '0' for nonexistence) was assigned and then categorized as congruent.

Fourth, once the manifest content analysis was completed, a latent content analysis was done by analyzing and contextualizing national policy discourse to understand how the regional shift in policy at the discourse level changed since 1985, the end of socialism in Guyana--the last socialist country within CARICOM. A latent content analysis was employed '… to bring contextual sensitivity to the content' (Lewis, Zamith, & Hermida, 2013, p.48; see also Neuendorf, 2002) and deciphered 'the deep structural meeting conveyed by the [policy documents]' through an 'interpretive reading of the symbolism underlying the physical data' (Berg, 2001, p.242). Additionally, in 1988, CARICOM commissioned an Advisory Task Force on Education that held national consultations regionally and reported their findings in 1993 (CARICOM, 1993; Jules, 2008). Furthermore, in 1989 the *Grand Anse Declaration* (CARICOM, 1989) was endorsed by the heads of government of CARICOM to create a platform for sweeping regional changes, ranging from education to economic liberalization.

Finally, the analysis showed a higher number of occurrences or frequencies at the national to regional level than the national to international level, in some instances there were twice as many occurrences.

This pattern held steady for all tabulations during this policy period. Second, the 1996-2002 policy period had only three policies and all exhibited more congruencies at the national to regional over the national to international policy level. Based on these patterns and following Dale's perspective (1999, p.5), the aim was not to 'assess the validity or success of the approaches', but to understand how these mechanisms are used to construct CEPS as CARICOM responded to the manifest and latent challenges of exogenous and endogenous globalization. In CARICOM's case, the conditions leading towards educational gradualism were: (i) the failed experiences of economic development premised upon industrialization by invitation and import-substitution industrialization; (ii) the collapse of the socialism in the 1970s and 1980s; and (iii) the imposition of structural adjustment programs (SAPSs) in the 1980s. Educational gradualism began when national policy problems prompted a search for policy answers. The starting point was intra-state lesson-drawing and learning from the past in one's own region or nation-state. Lesson-drawing depends upon who searches and how a search is conducted (Hedberg, 1981; Jules, 2010). In other words post-socialist small states, particularly those in CARICOM, use a multiplicity of factors that influence lesson-drawing (namely power, resources, expert opinions, and political values), however, transferability was a distinguishing feature. Another core element in lesson-drawing is feasibility – whether it is technically possible to transfer a program from elsewhere. In the rest of the paper, it will be argued that CEPS, stemming from a delivery mechanism of lessons-drawing, was forged *historically* by the era of ideological pluralism, *legally* by the 2001 Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas, *substantively* by the enactment of the Caribbean Single Market in 2006, and *functionally* through functional cooperation, thus giving rise to CEPS.

4.1. HISTORICALLY BY THE ERA OF IDEOLOGICAL PLURALISM.

The rise of educational gradualism, as defined by the simultaneous incremental policy changes across all of CARICOM countries to achieve deeper integration, and the subsequent creation of CEPS, is framed *historically* by the immediate post-colonial period that saw Caribbean states expanding their public sectors and limiting aspects of their education systems through substantial funding borrowed from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund or "international knowledge banks" (Jones, 2004) to finance national development or what can be called 'educational expansionalism.' The historical phase began in the early 1970s under "industrialization by invitation", premised upon attracting foreign capital through lower tariffs and higher incentives (Lewis, 1950; Payne, 1984; Rose, 2002) and "import-substitution industrialization (ISI)", substituting imports with domestic products (Baer, 1972; Beckford, 1972). Both development strategies failed to spur national development and economic growth. By the late 1970s, multiple factors curtailed development regionally; underemployment, high population growth rates, shortage of foreign currencies, weak and vulnerable production structures, and high levels of external corporate capital and proprietorship of critical resources (Beckford, 1972; Rose, 2002). These factors, as well as the "fluidity of the typology of societies"[3] (Clarke, 1991, p.18) stratified by race, class and culture, eventually led to ideological pluralism regionally in 1980s, a term coined to explain why some member states of CARICOM adopted economic and political ideologies based on different forms of socialism. Guyana, guided by Prime Minister Linden Forbes Sampson Burnham[4]; Jamaica, aided by Prime Minister Michael Norman

[3] Clarke (1991) suggests that the Caribbean society with its makeup based on plural-stratified, plural-segmented, class- stratified, and folk peoples, makes it contentiously dependent on the major powers. Therefore, these societies can be easily modified based on "out-migration, decolonization, and revolution, coup invasion and assignation" (p.18).
[4] Prime Minister from 1964-1980 and President from 1980-1985 and the People's National Congress (PNC)

Manley[5], and Grenada, under Prime Minister Maurice Rupert Bishop[6] opted for various forms of socialism in contradistinction to the rest of the region, which maintained Western liberal democratic principles (including various forms of capitalist ideologies) (Hall, 2003; Jules, 2010).

Cooperative socialism in Guyana focused on removing dependent capitalist development through the creation of employment opportunities, equalizing the distribution of incomes, increasing equitable geographic distribution of economic activities, and attaining self-sustained economic growth (Lee, 2000; Rose, 2002). For example, almost immediately 80 percent of the commanding heights (the key economic sectors) were nationalized (Hall, 2001; Richardson, 1992; Jules, 2010). Socialist education reforms concentrated on de-privatizing and expanding mass schooling, making education free from nursery school to university, building a new teachers' training college, and introducing a new secondary school of excellence – the President's College.

Democratic socialism in Jamaica invoked biblical text and stressed deliverance, which was premised upon a "single touchstone of right and wrong" (Rose, 2002, p.245) and a belief in the Christian ideals of equity for all of God's children, particularly stressing morality and cooperation. It concentrated on advancing the living standards of the poor Jamaican people and increasing political participation. In education it strove to replace the British education system with a more equitable one and expanded primary and secondary level and the age requirements for primary school education, from fifteen to seventeen. Teacher training programs were updated since "teachers needed to undergo a process of self-transformation" (Rose, 2002, p.260). In 1972, the Jamaican Movement for the Advancement of Literacy (JAMAL Foundation) and a national adult literacy program was implemented. All educational fees were removed to allow children to pass "through similarly endowed institutions wherein they must mix regardless of parental background" (Rose, 2002, p.260).

In 1979, with the support of the Guyana and Jamaica governments, the Marxist-Leninist New Jewel Movement under Prime Minister Bishop and the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) enacted revolutionary socialism in Grenada. The focus was on rebuilding Grenada's economy after the economic destruction caused by Eric Gairy's 1967–1979 government. The socialist theory of non-capitalist development and the principles and doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, aimed at mobilizing the masses through participatory democracy (Clarke, 1991; Payne, 1984; Rose, 2002; Thorndike, 1991). Education reforms used five programs designed to provide access to everyone: (i) 'Continuous Education Program', immersed on eradicating rural illiteracy especially among adults; (ii) the 'National-in-Service Teacher Education Programme (NISTEP)', replacing the Grenada Teacher's College; (iii) 'Education for All', providing free secondary schooling; (iv) 'New Content in Curriculum', focused on developing history, culture, and Grenadian values; and (v) 'Work-Study Approach', aimed at helping students find adequate labor-intensive and technological skills (Rose, 2002, pp.311-315). Mass schooling expanded to emancipate 'the masses from ignorance and a sense of cultural inferiority' (Rose, 2002, p.310). With the eventual 'invasion' or 'intervention' in Grenada by the United States, CARICOM governments sought to contain "socialism in one country" (Lewis, 2001, p.46), and took the necessary steps to promote and ensure collective policy responses in all areas across the region.

[5] Prime Minister between 1972-1980 and 1989-1992 and the People's National Party (PNP)
[6] After the 1979 Coup d'état, self-proclaimed Prime Minister from 1979-1983.

This historical approach that shaped educational gradualism is exemplified in the promotion of the Nassau Understanding (CARICOM, 1984) that recognized that international interventionist policies and programs had damaged national educational systems since the proposed developmental gains that these policies and programs were supposed to produce did not materialize. CARICOM (1984) suggested regionally directed reforms to national educational systems by articulating the rise of educational gradualism, historically, became linked to the fact that "Heads of Government realize that improvements in education and health will have beneficial effects on productivity and efficiency" (p.1).

4.2. LEGALLY BY THE 2001 REVISED TREATY OF CHAGUARAMAS AND THE CARIBBEAN SINGLE MARKET AND ECONOMY.

Legally, educational gradualism began with revisions to the Original Treaty of Chaguaramas following the immediate demise of ideological pluralism. The legal framing of CEPS began in 1989 with the signing of the Grand Anse Declaration (CARICOM, 1989). At times, the historical and legal conjoined while advancing analogous policy positions. The Caribbean Common Market (CCM), as identified in the Original Treaty of Chaguaramas, focused upon extending production integration, which was "inward-looking, resourced-based, and state directed" and a "prisoner of the market place and international competitiveness" (Odle, 2006, p.30), was restructured. Grand Anse (CARICOM, 1989), which was an extension of the Nassau Declaration on Structural Adjustment (CARICOM, 1984), called for the deepening of the integration project through open regionalism or market-driven regionalism – "externally driven model in its political origins and intellectual provenance" (Girvan, 2012, p.43) and a reaction to a global environment dominated by the neoliberal advancement of the trade liberalization of services and investments. In 1992, the West Indian Commission, an inter-government task force, reported its findings and proposed nine protocols for revising the legal instrument, the Original Treaty of Chaguaramas of 1973. The Protocols that established the Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas in 2001, also producing the Caribbean Community – including the CARICOM Single Market and Economy – were: (i) institutional arrangements for the Caribbean Community such as organs, councils, bodies, and associate institutions of the community; (ii) establishment, services, capital, and movement of community nationals; (iii) industrial policy; (iv) trade policy; (v) agricultural policy; (vi) transport policy; (vii) disadvantaged countries, regions and sectors; (viii) competition policy, consumer protection, dumping and subsidies; and (ix) disputes settlement. The Revised Treaty transformed the model of production integration '…from the realm of inter-industry relation in productive activities to the free movement of factors of production in the service enterprise efficiency (Girvan, 2006, p.11). The inauguration of the Caribbean Court Justice in 2005, after being established in 2001, as the final appeal and guardian of the Revised Treaty also provided the relief for CARICOM nationals who were relocating.

The second legal aspect that framed CEPS was the creation of the Caribbean Single Market Economy (CSME) in 2006 with 13 out of the now 15 CARICOM member states. Progress on the Caribbean Single Economy (CSE), scheduled for 2008, has stalled and is unlikely to materialize anytime soon. Without the CSE component, the CSM has strengthened CEPS since its implementation, with numerous challenges at the national level, the free movement of skills, labor, goods capital and the right to establishment – i.e. CARICOM citizens may establish companies and business enterprises in any CARICOM nation and be treated as a local national - as identified in the Grand Anse Declaration (CARICOM, 1989). Grand Anse (CARICOM, 1989) focuses on human resource development as a

catalyst for "enhancing the scientific and technological capability of the Region if it is to overcome the present economic challenges and avail itself of the opportunities unfolding in the Global Economy in the Twenty-First Century" (p.3). The CSME calls for: the removal of "all obstacles to intra-regional movement of skills, labor and travel, harmonizing social services (education, health, etc.), providing for the transfer of social security benefits and establishing common standards and measures for accreditation and equivalency" (CARICOM, 1989, p.1). The portability of skilled nationals across the region is seen as important towards accelerating the CSME since it offers the same levels of recognition and quality assurance standards in all countries. Several of the categories of workers who can move and work freely across the region (artisans, nurses, teachers, university graduates, sports persons, musicians, managers, technical and supervisory staff, and media workers) fell under the purview of Technical and Vocational Education and Training reform since these categories were identified as categories in which nationals could obtain a CARICOM Certificate of Recognition of Skills Qualification (CARICOM Skills Certificate) from the designated Minister in either their home country or from the host country.

4.3. SUBSTANTIVELY BY REGIONAL BENCHMARKS, TARGETS, AND INDICATORS

The substantive aspect of educational gradualism in CARICOM was premised upon: defining regional benchmarks; setting regional targets; and developing regional educational indicators to enact the CSME. Educational benchmarks have been recognized as the basis for improvement and "it is only through such benchmarking that countries can understand relative strengths and weaknesses of their educational systems and identify best practices and ways forwards" (OECD, 2006, p.18). Jansen (2001) describes this progression as 'the politics of performance' when targets are used as an accountability instrument driven by functional interdependence to dealing effectively with a problem.

The first substantive gradualist approach began regionally when the Barbados Consensus (CARICOM, 1985) noted that when the region is compared with other emerging markets, the literacy rate of high school enrollment was almost 100 percent, yet the availability of skills quantitatively or qualitatively was inadequate to create economic development. It acknowledged that both the formal and informal educational system "must equip our school-leavers and young people with skills needed both for employment by others and for self-employment, and must encourage the development of attitudes and motivation conducive to the display of initiative and resourcefulness" (CARICOM, 1985, p.2). These strong conclusions led to the Advisory Task Force on Education in 1988 to "agree that a process of inquiry, diagnosis and design be pursued in the region in an attempt to consciously and systematically prepare for the short, medium and long term challenges of education" (SCME 7, 1988, p.19), paving the way for an intensive process of regional collaboration to develop and reorient the educational systems of CARICOM member states. The first regional educational policy, the *Future of Education* (CARICOM, 1993), encapsulated issues and concerns in the form of regional objectives to be addressed if these small states were to successfully confront the challenges that continually emerged at regional and international levels. It articulated regional policy goals and aims that were considered for implement into national systems at all levels of education, curriculum, teacher education, management and administration of schools, and financing.

The second substantive framing, the establishment of regional targets, called for the movement away from the inconsistencies in education and teacher training preparations, lack of administration and management in the public sector, and challenges of literacy, numeracy, and foreign language acquisition skills (CARICOM, 1997; Jennings, 2001; Sutton, 2006). The commencement of the transformations stemmed from input from various stakeholders (children, parliamentarians, teachers, educational officers, businessmen, researchers, and parents). These stakeholders gained legitimacy as national governments committed themselves to the second element of CEPS – three regional targets expressed:

- The need to develop a clear perspective on the importance and significance of regionalism as an ideal, a resource, and a style of operation;
- The need for a focus on educational objectives and curricula to provide the experiences necessary for young people to develop those enduring skills needed for interpersonal relationships, information processing, problem solving and decision-making;
- The need to develop modes of management based on partnership and participation linking school, home, and community to achieve efficiency and equity in the education system. (CARICOM, 1989, p.7).

These targets focused on the "education systems not only as a constraint but also as a resource…scientific and technological change and development… [that would] re-conceptualize, re-orient and restructure the links between the 'formal' and 'non-formal' spheres of education" (CARICOM, 1993, pp.8-9). These regional targets were based not only on the 'the issues and concerns' that the region faced, but also on "policy goals and actions required for the various levels of the education system and for some specific areas of concern' if the region was to embrace 'regionalism as an ideal, as a resource and, equally important, as a style of operating that pervade these levels"(CARICOM, 1993, p.5-7).

Targeted reforms (levels of education, curriculum reform, teacher education, management and administration of schools, and financing of education) at the national level were premised upon regional benchmarks identified in the 1980s. For example, curriculum reform targets focused on the specific areas of: (i) culture, sports, and the arts; (ii) education for special needs; (iii) language learning; (iv) mathematics and science education; (v) technology and the curriculum; (vi) school and the world of work; and (vii) adult education, since "these problems point to the need for regional approaches that are cost effective" (CARICOM, 1993, p.25). Educational institutions were seen as preparing "Caribbean citizens for coping with the challenges of life and for playing new roles in society, it will be necessary for these institutions to reform their curricula and rethink their modus operandi" (CARICOM 1993, p.25). Teacher education targets, the third area of reform, concentrated on escalating training programs and maintaining the "core of competent and highly motivated educators marked by the appropriate mix of skills, abilities, attitudes and cultural sensitivities" (CARICOM 1993, p.56). The fourth target area of reform, management and administration, echoed the concerns of developing a 'philosophy of administration' centered on "beliefs and practices for administrators and managers, necessary to effect change at various levels of the education system" (CARICOM 1993, p.64). These reforms were utilized to enhance supervisory practices; develop and implement research that informed approaches and performances; expand public private partnerships through local involvement and broad participation; and train core personal in the effective administration of school

systems. The final target element – financing of education – called for the broadening of finances to ensure quality education, protecting education from the consequences of SAPs and increasing resource efficiency at all levels.

Regional educational targets, particularly in early childhood education (ECE), called for the expansion and improvement of the quality of ECE to all children between the ages of 3-5 by the year 2000. This was to be accomplished through: (i) establishing private public partnerships; (ii) enacting legislative and administrative guidelines; (iii) developing core curriculum and regional teaching programs; (iv); and improving the terms and conditions of service for teachers. At the primary level, reform targets paid attention to developing children "with lively, enquiring minds who are capable of independent thought and self-directed learning" (CARICOM, 1993, p.16) to provide a solid foundation for secondary schooling and to facilitate the transition from primary to secondary schools. The secondary education level focused on improving both the learning environment and the quality of education offered, and granted greater access to secondary education by 2003: broadening the Caribbean Examinations Council's (CXC) exit examination (Grade 12) through awarding a post-secondary education certificate examination; providing 'adequate numbers of candidates for further training in critical areas of need for national and regional development' (CARICOM 1993, p.21); and facilitating in the progression from secondary schools to tertiary institutions and then to the world of work. Tertiary and higher education reform targets called attention to the new roles of the University in the West Indies and the University of Guyana in developing communication and technologies and access; establishing open management information systems; and improving partnerships with governments in relations to delivery and service needs.

The final substantive framing was the development of regional educational indicators to measure whether targets and benchmarks had been met. The core measurement concentrated on identifying the qualities individuals needed as they moved within the CSME. The free movement of skilled and professional personnel became the central non-economic educational indicator when the Special Meeting of the Standing Committee Minister Responsible for Education (SCME) in 1996 called for the 'vision of the Caribbean and the definition of the Caribbean Person' (CARICOM, 1997). In education, the World Bank (2002) reported that in comparison to Latin America, higher education enrollment was significantly lower at the secondary level, repetition, dropouts, absenteeism, and truancy were prevalent (CARICOM p.1997). CARICOM leaders recognized that 'while the fundamental global changes serve to define in broad terms the nature of the reform in the education system…development priorities as well as the specific needs of the services as determined by national policies will provide directions for the planning, development and delivery of training programmes' (CARICOM, 1997, p.18). Thus within the vision of the ideal Caribbean citizen, 11 indicators were identified, aiming for a citizenry that: is regionally-minded who respects human life as the foundation on which all of the other desired values must rest; is psychologically secure; values differences based on gender, ethnicity, religion and other forms of diversity as sources of strength and richness; is environmentally astute; is responsible and accountable to family and community; has a strong work ethic; is ingenious and entrepreneurial; has a conversant respect for cultural heritage; exhibits multiple literacies by displaying independent and critical thinking to the application of science and technology; and embraces differences and similarities between females and males.

4.4. FUNCTIONALLY THROUGH FUNCTIONAL COOPERATION

The functional aspect of framing dates back to the Original Treaty of Chaguaramas (CARICOM, 1973) and it is based on the "coordination of the funding, provision and regulation of education' (Dale, 2009, p.11) and defined by coordination and collaboration across the functional areas. It is linked to the creation of institutional arrangements that predate the Treaty of Chaguaramas. From a functional perspective, the early tenants of educational gradualism, focused primarily on coordination from above from institutions within the CARICOM Community in three specific areas: (i) higher education coordination –the University of the West Indies established in 1962 with four campuses (Barbados, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and the Open Campus); (ii) testing – the Caribbean Examination Council founded in 1972 and designated as an institution within the CARICOM Community and (iii) intersectoral governance – the Standing Committees for Ministers with responsibilities in areas such as education and health evolving in 1997 to the Council of Human and Social Development (COHSOD) with mandates for education, gender, health, security, reparations, youth, culture, and sports. Other functional institutional mechanism created after the Original Treaty, but before the Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas, include coordination at the regional level in Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) through The Caribbean Association of National Training Agencies (CANTA). This led to the creation of National Training Agencies (NTAs) in countries such as Jamaica (Heart-Trust), Trinidad and Tobago (National Training Agency) and Barbados (TVET Council) to ensure the certification for the movement of skilled labor.

While the original functional institutional facilities laid the groundwork for national coordination through regional intermediaries, it was not until The Needham's Point Declaration on Functional Cooperation (CARICOM, 2007) that coordination became relevant and functional cooperation reemerged, after being neglected for years as a viable coordination framework for the enhancement of the integration projects. In fact, the Needham's Point Declaration (CARICOM 2007) cemented the shift from government to governance in that it is premised upon discourse and agreement rather than authority and domination (Heckscher & Donnellon 1994). This shift can be seen as the beginning of the post-bureaucratic age and it is within this movement that we see the principles and institutions that make CARICOM a regional outlier. The functional aspect describes: creating efficient operations of common services and activities for the people; promoting greater understanding among the people; advancing their social, cultural, and technological development; and intensifying activities in areas such as health, education, transportation, and telecommunications (CARICOM, 2007). Functional cooperation, as an integrative instrument, operates within a rules-based enterprise, such as the Caribbean Single Market and Economy (CSME) through the advancement of the specific facets of CARICOM's agenda (CARICOM, 2007). The functional framing is defined by: (i) meetings aimed at arriving at decisions about the planning and implementation of shared services or other regional activities (examples of the most basic form of cooperation are meetings, shared learning experiences, and collaborative learning); (ii) coordination of the actions of individual member states so that, once agreement was reached on general principles, individual member states may proceed to apply them on a bilateral basis; (iii) unifying action that goes beyond the adoption of common principles applied at the level of individual member states; and (iv) creating a single policy space (short of political and economic integration) that may be managed supra-nationally (CARICOM, 2007). However, these broader institutional arrangements ultimately are linked to regional benchmarks and national recognition and cannot function effectively unless they have the support of national governments.

Thus, educational gradualism arose because of the deeper institutional linkages that existed at the regional level.

CONCLUSION

CEPS was and continues to be framed by four policy instruments (historical, legal, substantive, and functional), based on the policy mechanism of lesson-drawing – a gradualist approach to reforming national educational systems. Within an era of governance and knowledge, CEPS was framed *historically* by the era of ideological pluralism, *legally* by the 2001 Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas, *substantively* by the enactment of the Caribbean Single Market in 2006, and *functionally* through functional cooperation. The new path was premised upon intra-CARICOM trade and collaboration since regional balkanization created centrifugal policy forces in education as the prospect of deeper disintegration loomed. The regional solution to these problems and socialist experiments, according to the Nassau Understanding (CARICOM, 1984), was a better-educated populace. National governments had to fortify their educational system at all levels by offering "opportunities for the acquisition of skills that will directly contribute to the modernization and development of the economy" (CARICOM, 1984, p.6).

The construction of the CEPS came about after the collapse of socialist experiments in Guyana, Grenada, and Jamaica after Caribbean governments resolved to navigate their economies away from socialism and future economic and social breakdowns by shifting toward a new development path while adapting to major external and internal shocks in their economic system. Educational gradualism occurred as policy changes were created and premised upon regional experiences and lessons once CARICOM members agreed upon a common course of action commencing in 1988. It is argued that as a trans-regional regime, CARICOM's refocus on non-economic integration in the form of policy coordination to create the CSME became the hallmark of constructing CEPS. However, by 1996, CARICOM states became more aware of their vulnerabilities and began to focus on human resource development. This resulted in developing global minded citizens based on the vision of the ideal Caribbean person. This person would engender both national and regional development and would deepen the Caribbean Single Market Economy.

Looking regionally at CARICOM's members, similarities are found in their performances, structures, strategies, and processes. However, it is advanced here that these isomorphic tendencies are not a result of a world polity or a world culture, but of a fabricated educational space. This space created a "borderless education" (Nóvoa & Lawn 2002) in the Caribbean. The small states of CARICOM have chosen to integrate their non-economic systems by choice rather than the self-generation expansive characteristics of national education systems (Meyer et al., 1977). This choice was based upon regional benchmarks, regional targets, and regional indicators. The movement, commencing with post-socialist transformations, allows us to see how isomorphism within CARICOM nations is built upon policy mechanism and tools and not from "modules of contagion and modules of diffusion form a constant source" (Meyer et al., 1977, p.245). Given the smallness of CARICOM countries, I suggest that isomorphism is instead an inherited trait of regional trade agreements and the extent of learning in CARICOM states range from total duplication to adaptation (taking different starting points into account). This makes a hybrid from the exporting and importing region, extracting aspects of an exporting program or policy and applying them internally, or simply using lessons from other regions

as a broad inspiration for policy change (Rose, 1993; Jules, 2008). This level of structural isomorphism that exists at the regional level is not a result of the rationalizing myths that have plagued Western societies, but instead, regional isomorphism serves as a political tool utilized as a survival mechanism at the regional level in an era of unfettered globalization, dominant capitalist accumulation, knowledge management, and competition.

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